

Message Text

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PAGE 01 KABUL 06784 01 OF 02 271239Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 NEAE-00 AID-05 SNM-02 DEAE-00
L-03 OES-07 SS-15 INR-07 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSC-05
NSCE-00 TRSE-00 JUSE-00 IGA-02 /070 W
-----045055 271253Z /53
O 271150Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4610
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 6784

GENEVA: FOR MR. CAVANAUGH

STATE ALSO PASS AID

NEA/PAB - PLEASE SHARE WITH AMBASSADOR ELIOT

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SNAR, PFOR, EAID, AF
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE POLICY CONFLICT: FOREIGN AID VS. NARCOTICS
ERADICATION

1. SUMMARY. THIS IS TO ALERT THE DEPARTMENT AND AID/W
TO A POSSIBLE LOOMING PROBLEM OF OUR OPIUM ERADICATION
AIMS CONFLICTING WITH OUR FOREIGN AID OBJECTIVES -- AND THIS
POSSIBLY AFFECTING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AS WELL.
THE PLANNING MINISTRY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN
(GOA) IS OBJECTING TO OUR ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE AN ANTI-
POPPY CLAUSE IN OUR PROPOSED WHEAT PROJECT. BELOW I
DISCUSS THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS AND OUR PROPOSED GUIDE-
LINES. END SUMMARY

2. THE DEPARTMENT AND AID/W WILL RECALL THAT EARLIER
THIS YEAR AMBASSADOR ELIOT PROPOSED INTRODUCING POPPY
PROHIBITION CLAUSES IN NEW U.S. AID AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED
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WITH AFGHANISTAN. THIS WAS APPROVED BY WASHINGTON, UNDER THIS
POLICY, ANTI-POPPY PROVISIONS WOULD BE INSERTED INTO SELECTED
PROJECTS WHERE WE FELT THE CLAUSES COULD BE REALISTICALLY
ADMINISTERED AND MONITORED. UP TO NOW, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN
INTRODUCING SUCH CLAUSES (MOSTLY IN FORM OF SIDE-LETTERS
SIGNED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER) INTO THREE AGREEMENTS:
THE DANG JUI IRRIGATION PROJECT IN KUNAR PROVINCE; PHASE II

OF THE HELMAND VALLEY DRAINAGE PROJECT; AND THE AG-CREDIT PROJECT. WE OMITTED INCLUDING A CLAUSE FOR THE RURAL WORKS PROJECT (FOR BRIDGES AND OTHER STRUCTURES) BECAUSE WE FELT THAT NEITHER THE GOA NOR WE COULD ENFORCE OR MONITOR IT.

3. THIS PAST WEEK, DURING FINAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOA FOR THE SMALL \$500,000 WHEAT PROJECT, WE PROPOSED A POPPY SIDE-LETTER ENJOINING THE GOA FROM ALLOWING POPPY CULTIVATION TO BE INTRODUCED INTO THE PROVINCE OF BAGHLAN WHERE THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WHEAT PROJECT IS LOCATED. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, POPPIES ARE NOT NOW BEING GROWN IN THAT PROVINCE, BUT WE THOUGHT A SIDE-LETTER WOULD GIVE THE GOVERNMENT NO DIFFICULTY, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SIGNALING TO THEM THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE CONTI ED TO VIEW POPPY CULTIVATION.

4. ON SEPTEMBER 25, DEPUTY PLANNING MINISTER FAROUGH INFORMED USAID DIRECTOR GRADER THAT THE PROPOSED POPPY SIDE-LETTER WAS GIVING THE GOA "DIFFICULTY". WHILE THE GOA BELIEVED NO POPPIES WERE BEING GROWN IN THE PROVINCE, THE GOVERNMENT NOW HAD MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE USG PRACTICE OF TRYING TO LINK NARCOTICS ERADICATION TO SPECIFIC U.S. ECONOMIC AID PROJECTS. HE SAID THAT THE AGRICULTURE CREDIT PROJECT AGREEMENT SIDE-LETTER HAD CAUSED CONSTERNATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. HE IMPLIED CLEARLY THAT THE GOA WOULD PREFER THAT THE U.S. DROP THIS PRACTICE AND SUGGESTED THAT I DISCUSS THIS WITH THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER.

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5. I DO NOT PLAN TO TAKE ANY IMMEDIATE INITIATIVE. THREE DAYS AGO, ON SEPTEMBER 24, I SENT A LETTER TO ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER, SAMAD GHASUS, ENCLOSING THE PROPOSED BAGHLAN PROVINCE SIDE-LETTER FOR SIGNATURE. THE BALL IS THUS IN THEIR COURT. I HAVE NOT RECEIVED THE SIDE-LETTER BACK NOR ANY RESPONSE. HOWEVER, SINCE IN THE PAST I HAVE HAD TO JOG SAMAD GHASUS (THEN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER) TO GET THE SIDE-LETTERS SIGNED, HE MAY WELL BE WAITING FOR MY CALL BEFORE DOING ANYTHING. IF I DO NOT HEAR FROM HIM BY TOMORROW, SEPTEMBER 28, I PLA TO CALL HIM.

6. I HOPE SAMAD GHASUS DOES NOT SHARE THE PLANNING MINISTRY'S CONCERNS AND THAT HE WILL SIGN THE LETTER. I SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WILL NOT OCCUR. SOME DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WILL PROBABLY BE NECESSARY. IF MAY BE THAT HE WILL ONLY PROPOSE AMENDING THE LANGUAGE, AND HOPEFULLY WILL COME UP WITH SOMETHING WE CAN LIVE WITH. NONE OF US, I AM SURE RELISHES THE PROSPECT OF A MAJOR BILATERAL CONFRONTATION.

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7. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THESE SIDE-LETTERS
PROVIDE US WITH SOME LEVERAGE TO PUSH THE GOA IN THE
DIRECTION OF POPPY ERADICATION. WHILE IN THEORY THE
GOA COULD PRESENT US WITH AN ULTIMATUM, ASKING US TO
DROP THE SIDE-LETTERS OR PACK UP OUR AID PROGRAM, WE
THINK THIS UNLIKELY. THEY WANT OUR AID (AND PRESENCE,
TOO) AND I AM SURE WOULD NOT WISH TO PROVOKE A MAJOR
DIPLOMATIC CRISIS WITH US.

8. AS WASHINGTON KNOWS, THE GOA, HAVING LIVED WITH
DOMESTIC POPPY PRODUCTION FOR CENTURIES, AND WHILE
ACKNOWLEDGING ITS IMMORAL ASPECTS, FEELS NO DOMESTIC
POLITICAL PRESSURE TO ERADICATE IT. ON THE CONTRARY,
A SERIOUS DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEM WOULD BE CREATED
WERE THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE STEPS TO SUPPRESS EXISTING
POPPY PRODUCTION WITHOUT OFFERING FARMERS SOMETHING
VIABLE AS AN ECONOMIC SUBSTITUTE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE
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PRESSURE ON THE GOA TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT OPIUM

PRODUCTION COMES SOLELY FROM ABROAD, WHILE THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL COST OF POPPY ERADICATION COULD BE SUBSTANTIAL. BECAUSE OF THIS, AND BECAUSE THE GOA IS VERY CONSCIOUS OF ITS LIMITED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES, THE GOA HAS STATED THAT ERADICATING POPPIES CAN ONLY BE DONE WITH FOREIGN AID.

9. IN CONFRONTING THIS CHALLENGE, OUR NARCOTICS POLICY HERE HAS CONSISTED OF FOUR ELEMENTS:

1) USING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO IMPRESS ON PRESIDENT DAOUD, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND OTHER SENIOR AFGHAN OFFICIALS OF OUR CONCERN ABOUT AFGHANISTAN'S APPARENTLY INCREASED POPPY PRODUCTION.

2) USING UNFDAC TO SPEARHEAD AN INCOME SUBSTITUTION PROGRAM IN THE UPPER HELMAND.

3) THROUGH THE UN AND OUR DEA OFFICE HERE, WORKING WITH THE AFGHAN ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING, AND

4) USING SELECTED U.S. AID PROJECTS AS LEVERAGE TO LIMIT POPPY PRODUCTION.

10. I BELIEVE THESE FOUR PROGRAMS ARE SENSIBLE AND VIALBE, BUT THAT EACH HAS TO BE APPLIED WITH REALISM AND JUST THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF PRESSURE. WASHINGTON SHOULD KNOW HOWEVER, THAT THE BAGHLAN PROVINCE SIDE-LETTER COULD PROVE TO BE A HURDLE OR EVEN WATERSHED ISSUE FOR US. THE PURPOSE OF THIS TELEGRAM IS TO ALERT YOU TO THIS.

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11. BY SEPTTEL WE ARE CABLING THE TEXT OF THE BAGHLAN PROVINCE SIDE-LETTER.
AMSTUTZ

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NARCOTICS, OPIUM, WHEAT, POLICIES, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 27-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
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Review Release Date: n/a
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